1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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how to make it. There was no arduous labor attached to collecting turtle shell to trade for an axe, for the shell came as a by-product to the pursuit of harpooning turtles. The making of the stone axe took time and a considerable amount of hard labor; but to go turtle hunting was a pleasure, since turtle harpooning expeditions are not only for the anticipated enjoyment of the flesh and to supply the family larder, but also for the pure joy of stalking the turtle, spearing it, and bringing it home to an admiring audience which could appreciate one's abilities as a hunter and a man of importance. Undoubtedly pride of workmanship is felt by a native axe-maker. His fellow tribesmen always express their appreciation of a well-turned-out axe or spear head, but the social approbation given to the two occupations is completely disproportionate.

The turtle shell had never been used, and had been discarded until the Malay came; that it should become an article of high value to the trader was an item of some amusement and a fortuitous circumstance for the aborigines. Since the women gather oysters, the trading of pearls for the Malay objects of trade was looked upon by the black as an even greater bit of luck than the trading of shell.

The trepang (*beche-de-mer*) industry demanded more effort. In this activity the Malay showed himself a practical sociologist, for he again made no vain attempt to change Murngin civilization to his liking, but merely used the institutions he found among them to satisfy his wants.

Canoes were given to certain men who, with their clansmen, gathered the sea slugs from the low-lying sand banks at low tide. All this the native understood, since it was but one added particular to a general type of behavior; and although the blacks do not eat trepang, this animal belongs to a group of seashore fauna which are gathered and eaten, and could have been added to the diet without any change in the methods of acquiring food. But there is one element in the economic structure of Murngin civilization that must have made this adaptation somewhat difficult, since the sexual division of labor allots the task of gathering mollusk and other seashore foods to the women. Men only gather these articles of diet for their own use when they have no women with them and there is nothing else to eat. It is very likely that if the natives could not have speared fish or harpooned dugong or turtle while looking for trepang beds, the Malays would have found the industry unprofitable, if not impossible.

The Malay brought the tamarind fruit with him. The seeds that were thrown away sprouted, and now the lands where he voyaged are known by their growth of the tamarind tree. Many of these trees are very large. The circles of trees which surround the spot where once a huge tamarind tree had grown show that they are secondary growths and do not represent the earliest period of the Malay contact. No one knows how long the Malay has been making his voyages to Australia. The writer attempted to find

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
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Everyday Life

262 511 Being a purely nomadic people, the greater part of the time of these aborigines is devoted to the procuring of food. The coastal districts of Arnhem Land are much better supplied than the arid areas of the inland, but even there a serious shortage of food is by no means infrequent. Almost all living creatures are eaten, as well as a large variety of roots and berries, but there is ever the daily uncertainty concerning the supplying of the body's needs.

461 517 When not engaged in hunting, the men spend many hours fashioning their weapons and utensils, in which work they display a marked degree of skill and ability. The preparations for, and the actual performance of, ceremonials occupy much time and energy, and in these their love of decorative and dramatic art finds truly remarkable expression.

462 The women are the real burden-bearers. When the camping ground is reached, it is the women who have to prepare the camp and obtain the necessary wood and water. Every day they engage in the search for food, such as the smaller animals, roots, berries, and shell fish. No matter how successful the men have been in their pursuit of larger game, the women must not fail in their daily contribution to the needs of the family. To them also falls the care of the younger children, and the construction of most of the utensils for ordinary use.

854 Great affection is shown by both parents for their children, who are rarely corrected, and whose every whim is responded to.

[142 145] When an aboriginal baby is born it is of a light yellowish colour, but during the course of a week or so darkens to the normal

[302] chocolate-brown of the race. For the purpose of ensuring this deepening of colour, the infant, when two or three days old, is rubbed all over with a mixture of ashes and powdered charcoal.

[856] Immediately after birth the nose is flattened and the nostrils distended by finger pressure. The form of the skull is also moulded by the mid-wife's hands.

853 145 Babies are nursed by their mothers until they are up to four years of age, and during that period are extremely plump and soft-fleshed. After weaning, however, they quickly develop into the spindly-limbed form characteristic of the children of many PRIMITIVE RACES.

224 kinship, with due regard to certain ritual observances, such
262 as restrictions and tabus. The game may then be warmed
602 on the hot embers, and shared out among those members of the family who are permitted to eat it, that is, among those whose status in relation to the social group, in initiation, or to the man who killed the kangaroo, does not place him or
[778] her under a tabu. The flesh of any kangaroo or other game which is killed with a spear or other weapon which is *yarkomirri* (lit. "having a name") that is, which has been dedicated to a sacred clan totem, is also sacred, and may be eaten only by members of the restricted group comprising the fully initiated members of the clan. On these occasions
[887 when the food or game is tabu, the division of the quarry
616] is in the hands of the old men of the clan, or more particularly, the men who apply the term *ŋandi* (mother)—reciprocal term *wäkku*—to the clan concerned, to whom it is *yindipulo*. The traditional rights of these men take precedence even over those of the hunters who killed the quarry. The men who officiate in these divisions of food or game, as on most ceremonial occasions, are by kinship status necessarily members of the opposite moiety.

431 In addition to hunting, and to the elaborate and exacting
462 ceremonial life in which every man plays a part, and which occupies much of his time, he must make and maintain his own spears, spear-throwers and fighting weapons. It will be seen later, that a man may actually acquire some of his spears and other weapons as gifts by ceremonial exchange. But as he also incurs an obligation to send spears
[461] to others within this system, such gifts do not actually relieve him either of the work or the responsibility of spear-making, but rather give him an incentive, an urge, to work and to devote the necessary time to the manufacture of fine weapons in order to maintain his prestige within the CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE SYSTEM.

ceremonial exchange system. Besides weapons and fishing lines, the heavier types of rope as well as most of the larger fishing nets, are made by men. In the coastal groups where bark canoes are used, the making of these craft is also the work of the men. In the case of dugout canoes, a man either makes his own canoe, a long and laborious task taking weeks or months of time and requiring a good deal of intensive hard work, or he employs a craftsman to make it for him, in which case he assumes the responsibility for the organisation of the work and for the payments involved. The large, coarsely woven fish traps, which may be five or six feet, or even more, in length, as well as other paraphernalia associated with fishing, are usually made by the men, although women may also assist.

How subtle may be the driving force which induces the natives to work, is shown by the following example. During the south-east or dry season the people rarely build houses, but are content with breakwinds, until the north-west or wet season. Even then they generally delay the work of gathering bark and other necessary building materials until the actual onset of the rains. During a patrol at the beginning of the north-west when we were debating as to whether a heavy storm that threatened was really about to break, one of the natives said "*ŋärra tobitj*",[13] "my muscles have twitched", (and therefore it will not rain). And such is the belief of the natives in these portents that the people would not go out and collect the necessary paperbark to make a proper camp, despite the threatening sky.

[13] Muscular twitching, called *tobitj*, is an omen or portent which is believed to give warning of a forthcoming event, or to foretell the approach of an enemy or a visitor. The part of the body in which the twitching occurs indicates the relationship in which the visitor stands to the person who receives the warning.

461 462 Apart from the material for the making of spears and spear-throwers, and the woven baskets for carrying fire-sticks and other possessions, each man gradually collects, incidentally, as he hunts, the raw materials used for cere- [237] monial purposes, such as the orange-red breast feathers of the Red-collared Lorikeet[14] and the fur of the Brush-tailed Opossum (*Trichosurus vulpecula arnhemensis*). Every man [431] thus strives to accumulate articles of value, possessions or *gerri* (see page 5), of the appropriate type, which he will send later to relatives of certain orders within the intricate exchange cycle in which he has a place (pp. 67-68). The need to build up a reserve of *gerri* for use within the exchange cycle supplies still another incentive, or urge, to work, and so to be ready to meet these obligations. A man, therefore, must necessarily spend most of his waking time in working. As a craftsman the aborigine is neat, tidy and efficient, but he follows traditional methods and techniques closely, because they form part of the culture pattern into which he is born, and which is for him a heritage from ancestral times.

512 Let us look at the camp of a typical horde of Arnhem Land in the early morning, in order to get some understanding of the way in which these people live, and a picture of the daily routine of hunting and the organisation of work.

[361] The camp is situated generally on high or well-drained ground, and in the dry season is merely a cluster of fires, perhaps with a low breakwind on the windward side, each fire marking the camp of a family, or of a group of single men. In the early south-east season, during the months of

[14] These rich orange-red feathers of the Red-collared Lorikeet (*Trichoglossus rubritorquis*) are used chiefly by clans of *dua* moiety for the ornamentation of the sacred *rärrgu*, and are called *tjukurr*, literally "fat".

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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is no pooling of resources; each collects food independently, working for her own family or family group. And again, as they travel, the women gather any materials they chance to find which may be of use later, in technology. In this way the people accumulate a reserve of string, fibre, (in various stages of manufacture), resin, bone for making of yam knives and awls, for domestic use, or for canoe and bark trough manufacture, and all the materials regularly used in technology. These are carried in the *bäti*, generally in the form of neat parcels wrapped in *bärrukälla* (*Melaleuca* bark). When the men make a chance visit to an area famed for its spear woods, pigments, or other special material, they gather this and carry it in reserve, for later gift or exchange purposes. Similarly, feathers or down (*rämmän*) of birds are collected, and *bulnyin*, the fur of the Brush-tailed Possum, which is valued also for ceremonial purposes, is stripped before the animal is cooked. The spines (*dimir*) of stingrays are also extracted and all materials useful for technological and ceremonial purposes are removed while an animal is being prepared, wrapped in neat parcels in paperbark and placed in the dilly bag until required for use. As this material is generally carried by the natives in their baskets when they are hunting, they are able to make use of any moments of leisure during a halt, or while food is being cooked, to repair and maintain implements and utensils.

222 512 222 237 314 512 [492] [431] [317] 461

Certain materials, particularly the fat of *kärritjämbäl* the Red Kangaroo, and of a few other animals, and the fat and feathers of some birds, chief of which are the Emu, Plain Turkey or Bustard, the Jabiru and Native Companion, which are difficult to approach, have a high "social value" and are greatly prized. These materials have a ritual sig-

237 [435] 778

237 nificance and *must* be accumulated by the hunter.[15] This
778 fat, as well as the feathers of the birds mentioned above, are known as *tjärnbin* and play an important part in the ceremonies called *kunabibbi* and *ŋulmark*. The long bones, bills and some of the flight feathers of these birds are also accumulated and wrapped with paperbark into neat parcels called *täbarr*.

264 About midday, or at the conclusion of a drive for game
512 or fish, the people look for a suitable place to make a fire and to cook such small game as opossums, bandicoots, native cats, "goanna" or fish, as they may have secured. If they are hungry, some vegetable food may also be cooked, but the principal meal of the day is eaten in the evening
461 after the return to camp. For a couple of hours during the
512 heat of the day the natives rest. But they are rarely idle; even during these halts the men may often be seen squatting before little fires, making or repairing spears or other weapons. The women also take advantage of such respites to work at the string or mesh baskets which they carry rolled up in a half finished state, just as a white woman may take up knitting or other handiwork in moments of leisure.

[777] [15] Failure to do this would bring "bad luck", a ritual visitation, upon the hunter or on the people. The *tjärnbin*, the name given to the fat and also to certain of the feathers of the mammals and birds which have been mentioned, is believed to carry, in concentrated form, the *marr* or "spiritual power" of the animals. To waste this
[753] *tjärnbin* is to risk a ritual visitation, and if it is held for very long there is a too great concentration of *marr* so that the people will
[751] become sick. To dispel this *marr*, to avert the danger of sickness from it, a ceremony called *kunabibbi* must be held in which the fat and the feathers which are called *tjärnbin* are used and the danger is averted. It may be noted also that failure to cook game which has
[777] been killed, such as the flesh of one of the kangaroos, will bring "bad luck" and impair the *tjämbait*, the prowess or "good luck" of the hunter.

Late in the afternoon, generally about sundown, the people will be seen returning to camp from the day's foraging, the women carrying baskets of food on their heads, rolls of teatree bark (*Melaleuca*) for sleeping mats or for use in cooking, and great loads of firewood. On arriving in camp they light the cooking fires and perhaps make another journey for firewood to carry them through the night, and to bring water from a nearby well or lagoon. If the food to be prepared is of a type which requires much washing during the preparation they may take it close to water to prepare, bringing it back to camp to cook.

Although men do gather some vegetable food, and women also capture small game, besides shellfish, the division of labour is sharply defined and at once evident. The woman is primarily the provider of vegetable food, collectively, *ŋäta*, the getter of wood and water, the maker of light baskets and the smaller and more finely made nets. The man is the hunter, the provider of animal food, and is responsible for the conduct of large scale drives for fish and game. The making of weapons, heavy implements, canoes, canoe paddles, heavy fish traps and baskets of coarse heavy fibre, called *ḳoiyäpoi*[18] (fish-for) or *ŋätapoi larr*, (*ŋätapoi*, food-for; *larr*, open or coarse in texture), for the carrying of heavy loads of fish and vegetable food, is also the responsibility of men.

The first impression that any stranger must receive in a fully organised group in Eastern Arnhem Land is of industry. He cannot fail to see that everybody, man or woman, works hard, and that the work is well organised and runs smoothly. And he must also be impressed by the fact that with the exception of very young children who engage earnestly in play, much of which is imitative and

[18] *-poi*, suffix "for".

BASED ON THE ACTIVITIES OF ADULTS, THERE IS NO IDLENESS.

461 based on the activities of adults, there is no idleness. Even the young men are engaged fully in hunting and fishing activities and work hard, in marked contrast with the conditions in similar groups close to white settlement, where the organisation is breaking down. Neither men nor women are idle for long, and even in camp as they sit around their fires they may be seen to pick up a basket, a fish net, a spear or other weapon, and work at this as they talk, just as they did when they halted at midday to rest and to cook food. Yet there is no feeling of haste, but rather of method, of system and order.

182 461 What are the drives, the incentives, which lie behind all this organisation? Why does it move so smoothly, and what induces these people to work hard, so willingly, without any *apparent* direction, control or authority?

182 461 773 First and foremost, the organisation is based on the traditions laid down by the totemic ancestors and handed down in mythology, in the culture myths which the natives believe to be a history of their own clan ancestors. This provides a charter for all their activities, it gives them a plan, a motive, for their lives, which they believe are a recapitulation of the lives of the clan ancestors, who "showed the [861] way". Each individual is born into this pattern and learns as a child the part he has to play as a unit in the family and 182 clan. But it is not all impersonal, for as a clan member he 461 fits into the kinship network, in which, although his 602 relationship to all the people in his own and neighbouring 554 clans is laid down when he is born, and his behaviour and obligations to these people clearly defined, these acquire a reality, a vital significance, because they are personal and deal with real people. No member of a well-organised society would willingly lag behind in his obligations. On the faithful discharge of these, on his ability to hunt, to bring his con-

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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tribution of food to the group, to make payments, to give and return presents of food and objects of value, depends his reputation as a man, his prestige, his feeling of success as a human being.

Again, a successful hunter, especially one who has achieved renown in the pursuit of animals that are difficult to kill and which thus acquire a high social value, earns the title of *tjämbait*, while a woman renowned as a food gatherer is *bärtatumoro*. These titles are greatly coveted, and the right to them confers a considerable amount of prestige. If a man is called *tjämbait* to his face he will flush with embarrassment and pleasure, passing it off with a disclaimer, "*ŋärra bordin*", literally, "I am quiet" (non-aggressive), but no man would wish to be stigmatised as *tjämbaitmiru*[17]—without prowess in hunting. It would be an intolerable humiliation, a blow to his pride and prestige, to his sentiments as a successful human being.

I remember often when coming in from the hills after hunting wallaroo and Red Kangaroo, being greeted by a man who would say to me in the curious, stilted, artificial sing-song voice they reserve for these things, "Eh! *Wa'wa tjämbait*!" "Ah! my elder brother *tjämbait*!" "Well done, my brother." That, among a renowned hunting people, who live by the spear, is a proud title.

The kinship pattern is a system of obligations and counter obligations, and even if he is content merely to discharge these to the extent necessary to maintain his prestige, a man must necessarily work hard. To receive gifts of food and other presents which demand return gifts, and not to reciprocate, places a man under an obligation, which to a normal individual is an unbearable blow to his pride.

And these obligations are not confined to members of

[17] *-miru*, suffix meaning without, lacking.

182 a man's or woman's own horde with whom he or she comes
431 into daily contact. They extend also to members of
461 other hordes and are emphasised strongly on occasions
602 when people from distant groups to whom the kinship
[574] organisation is extended, come as visitors. For a young man, such obligations are intense, and to discharge them he is obliged to keep up an almost continuous stream of presents, which entails constant work.

182 With each successive stage of initiation it is obligatory
431 for him to make gifts to the old men of the clan group into
461 which he is being initiated. This may become very irksome
626 and may even reach a stage when no matter how hard he
561 works he is unable completely to discharge all his obligations, so laying himself open to the fear of reprisals, such as
[754] visitation by *kälka* (sorcerers who kill by the use of magic) or by other agencies. Fear of the use of secret methods of reprisal is a very real one, and provides, for a man, one of the strongest inducements to work, to keep pace with his obligations, and so to give no cause for resentment.

431 In those ceremonies such as the *kunabibbi* and *ŋulmark*
561 which transcend clan and tribal boundaries, and are not
796 restricted to, or regarded as the proprietary right of, a
614 small group such as a clan, but are practised widely throughout the territory, these obligations are less onerous. In
778 others, of the type called *märdai'in*, the initiation ceremonies carried out by each clan or group of clans sharing the same totems, at which its sacred totems are revealed, the burden of the gifts or payments is a heavy one. The internal solidarity of these small groups is intense, and their *märdai'in* or *räŋga*—the secret name for the objects which represent the *mälli*, the "shade" or "spirit" of the totemic ancestors themselves—are jealously guarded. These *räŋga* are very sacred and are regarded as dangerous to the

which are stripped from the *räŋga* and presented to special individuals after the conclusion of the ceremony, and which carry *marr*, confer prestige on the recipient and bring him "good luck" (*tjämbait*) in hunting.

But in any case, failure to discharge the obligations which he incurs at these times would be unthinkable, for a man believes that he is in a state of danger from *marr* (*mana*), and that ritual visitation will follow if he does not propitiate the group concerned. On this account, and because he would suffer in prestige by failure to discharge these obligations, they are not incurred lightly. This was brought home to me vividly in Arnhem Land when Raiwälla of Mildjiŋi clan, a man who was with me for years, and who accompanied me everywhere, asked me not to take him with me when I was invited to *ŋarra* (*märdai'in*) ceremonies. He explained, in some distress, that because of his association with me, he had been invited to attend many more *ŋarra* than would normally have been the case and was incurring thereby obligations to make *tadoit* payments (page 40) of food and *gerri* (material wealth) which he would not be able to discharge. Although the people knew that he was far from his own territory and understood his position, and although they assured him that he need not make any return presentations, he would not accept this. If he had done so he would not only have been in danger from *marr*, which had not been returned with the ceremonial presentation food or *gerri*, but he would have lost face and been placed in a position of inferiority. The urge, the "drive", furnished by these psychological attitudes in a fully organised aboriginal society are more forceful than any material urge. They far outweigh any desire to gain possessions and are the most important motive forces behind much of the hunting, and the organised and sustained work

which goes on. But while these obligations impose a heavy burden, especially upon a young man who must attend a long series of ceremonies with a vista of payments to be met, the ceremonies in turn confer some benefit upon him, although this may be indirect. They carry increased social status and prestige which in turn bring gradual liberation from some of the irksome tabus which influence almost every act of a young man.

Although on these occasions the immediate burden of gathering vegetable food falls on his female relatives, especially upon his mother and sisters, this does not relieve the initiate of his own personal obligations, but rather intensifies them. He must now redouble his efforts in hunting to enable him in turn to supply his women relations with fish, kangaroo, "sugar bag" or wild honey, in order to retain their goodwill. A man's success as a hunter depends not only on his ability to stalk and his skill with the spear but also on his capacity to make, and to maintain in serviceable condition, his hunting weapons, his fishing lines and nets and sometimes also a canoe. So initiation, especially initiation into the jealously-guarded clan totems (*märdai'in*) of the small groups which characterise the social organisation of North-eastern Arnhem Land, with their intense solidarity and quick resentment,[10] sets up a long train of social obligations—each with a definite economic import—each requiring gift and counter gift, and furnishing the motive for work, the urge for production both of food and *gerri*.

[10] Just as generous presentations of *gerri* (material wealth) and *ŋäta* (food) promote goodwill, so tardiness in the discharge of these obligations may lead to avenging expeditions and interclan feuds. A man who is unpopular, or who is notorious for his carelessness in these matters is more likely to be named as the victim when a scapegoat is sought to avenge a death or wrong.

777 the fine powdery dust (*känno*),[20] of the ceremonial ground,
778 and declared that the turtles were therefore "*yarkomirri*"
[796] (lit. "bearing a name", i.e. sacred). A rite was performed to remove the tabu, before the flesh could be eaten by the
[431] uninitiated. Even then those people, other than members of the totemic group, who ate the flesh, were called upon to make a payment of the type previously described, called *tadoit*, in this case to the fully initiated members.

182 Reference has been made to the obligation to hunt which
● [461] a man incurs in order to provide animal food for the
431 women upon whom he must depend for the large quan-
[561] tities of food which he requires to meet the periodic
[796] ceremonial presentations which mark almost every stage
606 of initiation as well as the termination of each critical stage
604 in his life. This obligation is especially stressed in his relationship with his *mukul rumaro*[21] (potential mother-

[20] *Känno* is really ash, fine, white, powdery wood ash. This man was said to be "*kälya kännomirri*", "skin with ashes", because the white dust of the ceremonial ground was still on his body and carried its *marr*.

[601] [21] As this paper may be read by many economists who may not have anthropological training, some reference to the kinship system of the aborigines may be of assistance. Under the system which is called "classificatory", the terms of relationship allied to the family and to near kin are extended to a number of people with whom no actual genetic relationship can be traced but who are grouped or classified with own kin. A man applies the term "father" not only to his own father but to all the people his father calls "brother" and this system is extended indefinitely. These terms expressing relationship are used instead of personal names, as terms of address. This system has the effect of reducing greatly the number of actual terms in use. But kinship terms are not mere names, for each carries with it a set pattern of behaviour. In Arnhem Land a man applies the term *mukul rumaro* (mother-in-law) to the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. He knows that he may look to this woman to provide him with a wife or wives and the pattern of behaviour

9: Thomson E-S (1935-1943)1949
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in-law), and with the particular *kauwill* (mother's brother) who is the husband of this woman to whom he applies the term *mukul*. Before the potential mother-in-law has a daughter, even before she is pregnant, he may begin to send her gifts of food. These progressive gifts have a cumulative effect and build up goodwill. They are divided into two series, to each of which a special name is applied. The first series are *milmarr*, while those given to the mother-in-law after the birth of a daughter are known by a different term, *mundur*. As my informant said, "that is hard work for me; she pays me back," i.e. by giving her daughter to me in marriage. They believe that this special form of giving has more than a "goodwill" effect, and that *marr*, the spiritual force or power to which I have referred, goes with the food, so that it has a greater significance than the white man would attach to it—and much greater than its mere value as food. The same applies to the special ceremonial gifts of food and *gerri* which are presented by the novitiate at various stages during his initiation to clan totems and to other cults. Implicit in this form of giving is the feeling which is even more important than "goodwill", that it places the recipient under an obligation to repay. To remain under such a debt is to accept a feeling of inferiority, of shame and humiliation.

In discussing the "drive", the urge to carry out the exacting hard work (which in a fully organised aboriginal society is everywhere in evidence) I have stressed the obligation which a man feels to reciprocate with a gift of at

toward *mukul rumaro* is one of rigid avoidance. He may not speak to her nor she to him, but he has very definite obligations towards her (*mukul rumaro*), including the obligation to provide her with certain animal food, with progressive gifts of a special type described above.

182 431 461 554 626 least equal, or if possible greater value, in order to maintain his social status and to enhance his prestige. He achieves this by his capacity to reciprocate a gift quickly and generously. If he failed to meet the obligations imposed, for example by the kinship pattern, he would lose face, prestige, in his group. It will be evident that this feeling of shame and humiliation at failure to reciprocate a gift or to honour an obligation, apart altogether from any danger of incurring resentment and visitation by evil magic, furnishes one of the most powerful mechanisms which underlie the production of food and goods, and the circulation of these. This is well shown by an example given to me by my informants, which illustrates the use which can be made of this fact to gain a desired objective. While a boy is still regarded as a child, there is no tabu even for his sisters upon eating the food that he may capture. But immediately after the circumcision ceremony, when his social status is altered and he lives apart from his mother and father in the single men's camp, the food collected or killed by a boy becomes tabu to relations of certain orders, and is now known by a special name, *kälŋboi* (*vide* page 21).

262 562 784

262 431 784 606 584 The eating of all *kälŋboi* food is surrounded by tabus, even for those relatives who are permitted to partake of it at all. For "outside" or "distant" relatives under the kinship system to eat this *kälŋboi* food is a special privilege, but the obligation to make ceremonial return payments, again of the type called *tadoit*, is always present. *Kälŋboi* food may sometimes be used to ingratiate a young man with a woman who stands in the relationship of potential mother-in-law (*mukul rumaro*) to him, but whose daughter has already been promised (*waiwun*) to another man some distance away. At first the *mukul rumaro* may refuse the *kälŋboi* food, but under coercion she may at length accept it, and

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if she does so, is regarded as having compromised herself into giving her daughter to the youth whose *kälŋboi* food she has eaten, although she knows that a fight must follow when the man to whom the girl rightfully belongs learns what has happened. Having accepted the *kälŋboi* food the woman also makes a ceremonial presentation of food which she gives to her *korroŋ* (son-in-law), who however does not eat it himself but distributes it to certain other relatives, defined by custom.

262 431 784 584 606

This example will show the strength of the urge to reciprocate, to discharge an obligation, and the extent to which it dominates the behaviour of these people, as well as its importance as a driving force in social and in economic activities, in which it furnishes one of the most important incentives to work.

182 183 431 461

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and above all a social and ceremonial background to the aborigine, far more important than the mere material gain of *gerri*. It furnishes him also with an incentive to work and to lavish special skill on the making of objects of material culture, in order to discharge his obligations within the scope of this system, which no mere desire for economic gain, shorn of its ritual and pageantry, could achieve, however great the material reward. 182 431 [461]